used to denote the Ezo chiefs and from once having the same meaning as a commander came to be used merely in the sense of a village headman. *Hokkai Zuihitsu* says, "The chief of an Ezo village is called *Otona* which is the same as village chief on the mainland. Orders to the *Otona* from the Matsumae may be carried out with authority since the Ezo all obey the *Otona*." Here we have a main problem in controlling the Ezo. The Japanese stake in the relationship lay in trade. The Matsumae stake also lay in trade but in a peaceful trade and a trade to the advantage of the Japanese. Since even before the 1669 revolt it had been necessary that the Ezo be dominated only in the trade aspect, there was no need, after that revolt, when the main interest was still peaceful trade, that the Matsumae system should undergo a sudden change. What was to happen was that as political control increased so did suppression. The system was basically the same as in the days of Kazizaki Suehiro. The chief of a village was the *Otona* who ruled under the head *Otona* who in turn was appointed by the Matsumae and through whom the orders of the Matsumae came. In this system the *Otona* was a chief or man of influence elected according to the custom of the Ezo. From the *Mōjin Scia Dan* [Remarks of an ignorant man on the Ezo]:

> From early days it was the custom of the Ezo not to appoint their chief but to give the title of chief to him who was recommended by all the people and who was usually the richest man in the village looking after his fellow villagers. In this manner disputes were avoided.[36]
>
> In Ezo, from very early times, they never had a general leader but in each village there was a leader similar to a headman in Japan who rules the village. Although some consideration was given to blood relationship those with power naturally became the leader. Recently the Matsumae gave Tobitake instructions on how to rule his people. Tobitake had with him 200 followers and was told that any rebellious Ezo under his control were to be reported immediately to the Matsumae while the chief, in the presence of an official and an interpreter was to gather the rebels and deliver punishment.

These above quotations are good examples of Matsumae policy after 1669.

There may be some misunderstanding of this system because of the fact that the native ruler was selected from among those Ezo elected by their own people but this is cleared up by a passage from the *SGM*: "In Ezo those who were respected were not necessarily those of noble birth nor of rich family but those of good character. Even for personal matters men of good character were called upon." After the death of Tobitake, a chief of east Ezo who lived in Shikotso and was equal to chief Chikomotain of Shiriuchi, the Matsumae appointed Chibeka of the same village as his successor.[37]

[36] *Seikai* (The World), No. 91: 68.

[37] "Key men in Ezo,
West Ezo—the head man is Matabe of Ishikari.
East Ezo—Tobitake was chief but after his death ten years ago Chibeka of the same village is acting as chief since Tobitake's son is underage." *Matsumae Ezo Ki*.

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*648 system brought bitter experiences to the Ezo but it
*175 operated to develop the industry of Ezo and it played an
439 important role in the development of Hokkaidô. These
441 contractors were business men taking great risks for profit; using crude vessels; without an adequate knowledge of navigation and dealing with a foreign people. They were speculators and it was but natural for them to try for as much gain as possible on each trip. Since their contracts were signed by those who had power at the time they were obliged to pay not only *Unjôkin*, but also *Goyôkin* and *Kariagekin* [forced loans]. There was also the danger of the contract being unilaterally cancelled by official act and in such an event even though the contractor might win a suit in court he could not gain financial compensation from a government in constant financial difficulties. He stood to lose not only his invested capital but his entire fortune as happened in the cases of Hidaya Kyuhei and Abuya Denbei.[55] Therefore, these possibilities had to be taken into account in the Ezo trade.

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*648 The contract system became less important in later
*175 years but the chief objective was still profit in trade.
● [579] Unfair trade provoked the Ezo and led eventually to
439 the 1669 revolt. But there is no evidence that after the
441 suppression of the revolt the system was remedied—indeed it seemed to grow worse. Trade was on a barter basis and "when the Ezo came to the post to trade they would, for example, for 100 sea cucumbers receive 3 cups of sake if they wished *Aburashake* [*Seishu*—refined sake]. One cup was equal to 2 gô 5 shaku. The price for tobacco was 100 dried sea slugs. When they asked for *Yayakan* [earrings] they were given a set of earrings."

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In the early trade there was no stable exchange rate.
*648 The *Tsugaru Kibun* notes: "Boats sailing to Ezo would
*175 return, at times, with ten times worth as much goods as
436 they had taken over but on other occasions would re-
439 turn with not enough goods to cover what they had taken. The Ezo are no more intelligent than our children and the rate of exchange has never been stable." But as the volume and rate of trade increased a sort of customary exchange arose. The exchange rates at Sôya during 1792 are as follows:[56]

For 1 sack of rice containing 8 shô:
6 bundles of herring i.e. 200 herring equal 1 bundle.
500 sea cucumbers
5 bundles of salmon i.e. 20 salmon equal 1 bundle.
15–16 bundles of trout i.e. as above with slight annual variations.
6 bundles of dried cod i.e. 20 cod equal 1 bundle.
3 barrels of dried herring roe i.e. 1 bbl. equal 2 shô.
shirako [a small whitefish] 3 bbls. as above.
Sasame [dried herring gills used as fertilizer] 6 bbls. as above.

[55] Details of the decline of Hidaya are given in *Hokkaidô Shi* 1 (3) chap. 34. Those on the downfall of Denbei are in chap. 44.

[56] *Iqen Zokuroku*

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laborers increased, a new position called "*Kozukai*" was established under the *Otona*. The duty of the *Kozukai* was to recruit native labor according to the instructions of managers and guards and to supervise their labor. In *Igen Zokuroku* we find: "Sea cucumbers received at the post would be spread on the wooden floor and the skewers removed by women. This job was managed by the *Kozukai* who could use women living near the post. The *Kozukai* was a foreman and hard-working Ezo were chosen for this post." *Tsugaru Kibun* notes:

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For loading or unloading ships in Ezo money was not needed to hire the natives. They were willing to work for a small amount of goods brought from the mainland. If sake and rice were given them they were very pleased, regarding it as a rare treat. However, when they had enough to eat and drink, nothing could make them work. They would sprawl on the beach in a hilarious mood and it seems that their desires were easily satisfied. Some of them would even head for home. Therefore, a sort of rice and sake tactics was devised. One cup of sake would be given to three or four persons while one handful of rice was also given to three persons. Thus, by not allowing them to become drunk or full, they could be kept on the job as long as one wanted.

It was natural then, under such a system, that potentiality for trouble existed.

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Although the natives were mostly hired to make oil cake the wages of those employed at fishing were, in general, as follows:[87]

the headman	rice or yeast	20 sacks
	tobacco	20 bundles
male Ezo	rice or yeast	7 or 8 sacks
	tobacco	20 bundles
female Ezo	rice or yeast	5 sacks
	tobacco	10 bundles

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The oil cakes were all kept by the post but it was the custom to give half the oil to the Ezo. This varied however, according to different *Basho*. The wage in the Kunashiri and Menashi districts, where there was a revolt in 1789, was, according to reports by the Ezo:

KUNASHIRI[88]

chief	3 sacks of rice yeast
male Ezo	1 or 2 sacks of rice yeast
female Ezo	1 to 3 bundles of tobacco
	1 knife

MENASHI[89]

chief	1 sack of rice and 1 bundle of tobacco
others	½ bundle of tobacco and 1 knife

No distribution of the product

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In Kunashiri there were some *Basho* where the natives were made to work until the snow began to fall

[87] *Kansei Ezo no ran Torishirabe Nikki* (Records of the investigation of the Kansei incident). Statement by Denkichi.
[88] *Ibid.* Statement by Ezo in Kunashiri.
[89] *Ibid.* Statement by Ezo in Menashi.

was forbidden to mainland women. The *Kozukai* Shimochi of Akkeshi says:

Among the Japanese coming to Kunashiri island were some who brought Ezo women and treated them as wives while others committed adultery with the wives and mistresses of the chiefs and Utare. When the Ezo complained, they would become unreasonable and even demand *Tsugunai*. Therefore, nothing was done about this misbehaviour.

There are also incidents of adultery and rape noted in Menashi. After the 1789 incident, when many rebellious natives were questioned, it became apparent that rape and adultery had played an important part in creating the rebellion.[70] Kimura Kenji who wrote his *Hokkō Nikki* [Journal of a trip to the North] during a journey in 1792 describes this situation.

> Sailors on vessels going to Ezo often commit adultery with Ezo women. When the woman told this to her husband he would go to the vessel, seek out the guilty party and demand *Tsugunai*, whereupon small amounts of tobacco would be given to him. When adultery was to be committed for the first time the Japanese would smear his face with charcoal and, closing his eyes, pretend to be blind so that the Ezo would not recognize him later with his face washed and eyes open. However, the Ezo were used to such tactics and were not deceived.

The above shows that such misconduct was carried on as a daily affair.

Many examples have been given for the Kunashiri and Menashi districts. This is because of the material available from these districts and does not mean that this situation did not exist in other parts of the island. Among the reasons given by the Ezo for the 1789 incident are: if Ezo refused to work they would be poisoned and Japanese would take over their village,[71] or they would be squeezed to death with the oil cake press or boiled to death in a pot,[72] or needles would be set in the floor of a storehouse and the Ezo would be swung over the floor on a hanging platform on which they would all be obliged to get drunk whereupon the platform would be removed and they would be plunged to death.[73] These were all childish threats made by the

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[70] Statements by Ezo in Kunashiri and Menashi in the *Kansei Ezo Ran*. . . .

[71] "When the Ezo laborers showed little enthusiasm for their work, the leading Ezo would be put to death by mixing poison with their food, and new foremen, who the officials thought would be more useful, would be appointed. If orders were neglected, all Ezo were threatened with death by poison after which town halls would be erected and the area turned into a Japanese town by bringing in Japanese from Edo and business would be carried out in their style." (Statement by Shimochi).

[72] "Japanese businessmen making oilcake told the Ezo employed by them to gather firewood and to obey all orders and if they refused to work then all the Ezo, men and women alike, would be squeezed to death with the oil." (Statement by Ezo in Menashi.)

[73] "Since last year three large pots have been set up at different places and the Ezo have been told that each pot was for cooking men, women, and children to death. For a time nothing happened but one day an Ezo women with a child on her back was seized by the Japanese workers and put into a pot. Be-

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as their power grew so did their tyranny over the Ezo. However, the Ezo in the interior of the east coast were still in a low state of culture and were a powerful and dangerous people. Their hardy characteristics are described in *Hokkai Zuihitsu* written in 1739. "Generally speaking the Ezo in the East are sturdy in character and apt to defy the law of the Matsumae. The Ezo in Kiritappu, Akkeshi, and Kusuri are hard to handle." In 1737 merchant trips were cancelled because of a rebellion in Kiritappu, and in 1758 in July, two to three thousand Ainu from Noshappu in the East attacked the Ezo in Sōya killing sixty and wounding over two hundred. The following year officials were sent to make the *Otona* apologize. In 1770 disputes arose between the Ezo of Tokachi and those of Sarugun and clan officials were sent in to arbitrate. Chief Tsukinoe of Tobui on Kunashiri was especially powerful. In 1775, under the influence of alcohol, he attacked and robbed a merchant vessel. As a result no merchant vessels were sent there for the next ten years.[18]

However, since the cultural level of the Ezo in this region was low and since the techniques of *Basho* management were now well advanced and the contractors were able merchants utilizing advanced methods this eastern area was adroitly managed and the Ezo there faced with a fast-growing control. Therefore, every possibility of revolt existed. In 1783 the author of *Tōyūki* has this to say:

> The Ezo in the east are a sturdy tribe. Although they seem to be ignorant, it is said that, having solved the problem of death, they have strong characters. If they are not treated with care, they will probably cause trouble in the future. Just recently an Ezo committed suicide because of his anger. We must remember the old adage that a rat when driven into a corner may attack a cat.

This prediction came true with the outbreak of revolt in Kunashiri and Menashi. The *Kozukai* Shimochi of Akkeshi gives the causes of this outbreak as follows:

> The employees of the contractor Hidaya Kyuhei and the servants who went to Ezo as *Uwanoriyaku* disregarded the custom of *Omusha* and their trading was very unfair. The Ezo whom they hired to fish for salmon and trout and to press fish oil were treated harshly with little compensation. The natives could never earn enough to carry them through the winter months and were on the verge of starvation. The employers beat them when they refused to work, threatened to poison them, said they would supersede them with Japanese labor, robbed them of their property, raped their women, and when the natives complained threatened them. Thus, the fear and resentment of the Ezo were at a peak when one of them was poisoned from some rice or sake he had obtained from the post. The natives, thinking this was the start of a mass poisoning, revolted. In May, 1789, the officials and guardhouses of Kunashiri were attacked. Twenty-two

[18] *Hokkaidō Shi*, 348–350

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persons were killed including the supervisor, manager, interpreter, and guards, and the stores were looted. The rebels then went to Menashi and instigated the Ezo there to revolt. Here thirty-six of the guards were killed and also the thirteen members of the crew of a contractor's vessel which lay in Churui. The rebels then fortified themselves in preparation for a battle with the clan troops. However, the *Otona* Ikotoi of Akkeshi and Chief Tsukinoe of Kunashiri persuaded the Kunashiri rebels to give themselves up while the Menashi group, following the advice of the *Otona* Shonko of Noshappu, surrendered and the revolt ended on July 17 without a battle. Those found bearing most guilt for the incident, some thirty-seven, were sentenced to death.[77]

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4. THE DISPOSITION OF THE REVOLT OF 1789

The 1789 revolt in Menashi and Kunashiri compared with that which occurred in 1669 was only a local affair on a small scale and was easily subdued. However, just at this time it was becoming apparent that Russia was expanding south along the Kuriles. This aroused the attention of the more alert and there were those who thought that the Russians, to win the natives and further their expansion, were giving the natives all they asked for and rumor went so far as to assert that the Russians had instigated this rebellion.[78] For these reasons the Bakufu took a particular interest in the incident and sent an investigating commission to Ezo while, at the same time, ordering the Matsumae to be more cautious in the future. The Matsumae clan itself, after the revolt, realized its faults and while cautioning the Ezo not to let such a thing happen again and at the same time ordering them to visit their lord in Matsumae as provided in the rules, also instructed the natives to report any unfair dealings in trade. The contract of Hidaya Kyuhei was cancelled and Murayama Denbei was ordered to look after his natives while a number of improvements were made in the regulations regarding the Ezo. Following is a report sent to the Bakufu in 1790.

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IMPROVEMENTS IN EZO

1. Remote areas in East and West Ezo are not to be contracted to outsiders but are to be directly controlled by the clan. Officials shall be instructed to watch over the Ezo and primary attention is to be devoted to winning their favor.

2. Hitherto persons from other clan territories have been permitted to engage in the Ezo trade. Hereafter,

[77] The details of this incident have been omitted since they may be found in *Hokkaidō Shi* and *Kansei Ezo Ran* . . .

[78] In the *Ezo Shinkai Kikigaki* [Records of Newly Opened Areas in Ezo], written in 1805 and preserved in the library of Hokkaidō Imperial University, the 1789 incident is described as follows: "Fourteen or fifteen years ago the people in Moscow, with the intention of getting control of the island, tried to win the favor of the people of Kunashiri which is an island off Hokkaidō, using the Christian religion as a tool. The effect can be seen, for many people in Kunashiri, including the Ezo, have formed into groups . . . and revolt."

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advance was simply due to a desire for trade; that the conflict between the Ezo and the Russians was an incident created by the Kamchatka Russians without the knowledge of the Russian government and that to dispatch an army and navy was not necessary since the Russians had no territorial designs but desired only a mutual trade which same was wished by a number of Japanese.[20] Honda and his followers held a contrary view—that it was a Russian invasion, that Ezo was economically vital to Japan, and that national defense ought to be emphasized.

The Matsumae remained inactive for they were capable of neither exploiting the natural resources nor providing for the national defense. There were those like Matsumae Hironaga and the clan chief Michihiro who were aware of and paid attention to the problem but (*a*) the clan was tiny, the census of 1777 showing only 26,500 people and 170 samurai families including foot soldiers,[21] and (*b*) the clan was in financial straits with a vast indebtedness and almost no way to pay it.[22] It was therefore impossible for them to venture the great wilds and the rough seas of the north in order to defend the vast territory of Ezo. All they could do was to wait and wish for luck. To a large extent the same situation was true of trade. Trade was under merchant control and the clan could not control the misconduct of the merchants in their relations with the natives or the exploitation which raised native anger. Indeed the fact that the financial position of the clan made it overcharge the contractors helped indirectly the exploitation of the Ezo. "The Eastern Ezo are stout and strong although they seem awkward and foolish. Once they decide to hazard their lives they are not to be moved. If they are mistreated they make up their minds and you then reap the whirlwind."

The scholars were correct when they said that if matters were left unremedied the Ezo would rebel against us in collaboration with the Russians. The 1789 rebellion in Kunashiri and Menashi was not supported by the Russians although some people so argued but it was an outcome of the complaints of the natives. On the other hand we have an example in what happened to the *Otona* Ikotoi of Atsushi. Although he had gained merit by helping quiet the Kunashiri-Menashi revolt, he later ran away to Etorofu to complain to the Russians about the actions of the Matsumae.[23] Under very strict instructions from the Bakafu after 1789 the Matsumae changed their policy, tried to educate the natives, established fire towers and guardhouses, and in 1790 sent officials to open the Karafuto market. In 1791 they sent foot soldiers to Etorofu as inspectors and watchmen. But according

[20] Ōtomo Kisaku, Kudō Heisuke no Aka Ezo Fusetsu Kō (Kudō Heisuke's "Aka Ezo Fusetsu Kō"), *Shakai oyobi Kokka*, No. 200: 187.

[21] *Matsumae Shi*.

[22] *Hokkaidō Shi*, chap. 33, section 3.

[23] *Ibid.*, 481.

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